THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT

MOTHERS' PENSIONS IN AMERICA.

Judge Neil, of Chicago, who is at present in London, has been a pioneer advocate of what are usually called mothers' pensions, but are in reality children's pensions, and which have been instituted in 27 out of the 48 United States of America. It should be noted that the Child Pension Law of the State of Illinois, quoted below by Mr. McFeely, a co-worker of Judge Neil, expressly provides that "a parent or parents" who are too poor to maintain their children, but are "otherwise proper guardians," may have the children's allowances paid to them. Therefore, the pension is not confined to the children of widowed mothers. The State of Michigan has wisely included in the pension scheme the children of unmarried mothers. The pensions are administered by the Juvenile Courts, and the Court records do not distinguish between married and unmarried women, describing the unmarried mothers in their records as "deserted mothers" along with the deserted wives, so that no investigator will be able to discover that any child was illegitimate.

The maintenance ranges from State to State from 7½ to 10 dollars per month for each child, and is granted in respect of children under 14 years to women who have more than one child. If the child is delicate the allowance may continue till 16 years. There is now a movement for increasing the school age to 16, in which case an extension of the pension age will be asked for. Where a woman has only one child it is usually considered that she should work to maintain it, and efforts are being made to provide enough day nurseries where such mothers may leave their children. We asked Judge Neil whether he considered the maintenance adequate. He replied that he would like to see it increased. He added that investigations by the Board of Health for the City of New York have estimated that the minimum cost of food sufficient to keep an adult man in good health is 27 cents per day, eight-tenths of that sum for a woman, and 13 cents per day for a child of 6 years, whilst two dollars per month per person should be spent upon clothing. This means that children of six should have 5 dollars 90 cents a month each and older children more, whilst out of the children's maintenance money something has to come for rent, coal, light, and the mother's maintenance. On the other hand, Judge Neil cited the case of a woman of Brooklyn, New York, who had six children and whose husband, a teamster, earned 14 dollars a week. Her husband died, and she received 60 dollars a month as allowances for her children, the State feeling that though the private employer had sweated the workman and starved his family, the State must not do so to the same extent. Another widow with six children of her own adopted also two orphan children, so that she received 80 dollars a month, about £4 per week. It is said that the cost of living in New York is about equal to the present cost of living in London.

Attached to the Children's Court is a corps of investigators, whose duty it is to see that the children are properly cared for. It is always a trifle strange to us that the poor, and only the poor, are supposed to need inspection.

Efforts are made to secure that no stigma

A NORWEGIAN WOMAN VOTER.

of charity shall attach to the allowances, which are sent by post without any distinguishing mark upon the envelope. Such delicacy does not characterise the treatment of our British soldiers' and sailors' wives.

THE HISTORY OF MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

By OTTO McFEELY.

New York City paid last year three and a half million dollars to institutions for the care of 22,000 children. These institutions collect each year about the same amount by begging.

In the twenty-seven Mothers' Pension States last year ten million dollars were paid to mothers for the care of 100,000 children.

In the larger cities it cost 5 per cent. for administration and supervision of Mothers' Pensions. In the same cities it cost 70 per cent to administer charity.

It cost $100 a year to support a child by the Mothers' Pension system.

It cost $300 a year to support a child in an institution.

More than a thousand children in New York City will be taken out of institutions this year and restored to their own mothers.

Figures prepared by Juvenile Court officials in Chicago show 100 per cent efficiency for Mothers' Pensions as a preventive of juvenile dependency and delinquency.

Trial of the Mothers' Pension system for abolishing child-poverty in twenty-seven States has proved that it is economical, humane, and that it can be operated without abuses.

Child-poverty, by producing defectives, delinquents, criminals and incompetents of many kinds, is one of the most expensive wastes that taxpayers have to pay for.

Last year $750,000,000 was collected by taxation for public schools; and to support institutions for dependants and criminals taxpayers paid $800,000,000.

In New York City private charity is the sixth largest business, and an army of experts live by begging, most of the money being spent for salaries, office rent and other expenses.

Mothers' Pensions—born in 1911—have made a record that no other reform has ever equalled, in rapidity of growth. In accomplishment and in importance the Mothers' Pension system for abolishing child-poverty is without a precedent.

Within five years of its introduction legislation has established the system in twenty-seven States and a new principle in the laws of civilised countries.

The Mothers' Pension system can be compared only to the public school system in purpose, and its five years' history shows the same development as the system of free public education for all children.

Education of children went through the pauper period, during which the schools were supported by begging from the well-to-do and pupils were branded with the disgrace of charity. It was not until 1852 that the charity schools were abolished in New York State. The present well established free school system was centuries in developing, and the grants now so gladly made for free schools for all the children, a few years ago would have been considered impossible and destructive of civilisation. To-day every one favours the public school system, and each community tries to have the best schools at whatever cost because they have proven their value in money as well as in the development of human happiness and the race.

In the spring of 1911, Henry Neil of Chicago discovered that the Juvenile Court of that city was taking children from their mothers because the mothers were too poor to support them.

"What do you do with these children when you take them away from their own mothers?" asked Judge Neil, himself the father of seven children and knowing the suffering of parents when compelled to give up their children.

"The charity institutions take them," was the reply of the Judge, who daily broke up families

(Continued on Page 580.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

ANOTHER EAST LONDON STRIKE

GROWTH OF DEMAND FOR CONTROL OF LABOUR CONDITIONS.

Last week the workers employed by Schneider, an Army clothing contractor, after a short strike, secured all their demands, the most important of which was :—

"That in the event of a worker being dismissed at the instigation of the foreman or passer, the case be referred to a committee of the elected representatives of the workers for investigation. The decision of the workers' committee shall be final."

This is a very important innovation which may have far-reaching results. We congratulate the East London clothing operatives on their wisdom and courage.

The workers employed by W. Lottery, Army clothing contractor, St. Mary's Street, Whitechapel, are now making the same demand. They also insist :—

That there shall be no reduction in the price for making of tunics [the employer had given notice to reduce the price from 1s. 4½d. to 1s. 3d., he afterwards offered 1s. 3½d.]. That the price of silk and thread for sewing the tunics, which the workers buy from the firm, shall not be raised.

That the workers shall not be made to pay for any breakages to machine parts, etc., caused through no fault of their own.

That the foreman and passers shall speak properly to the workers, and treat them as human beings. That the work shall be given out as quickly as possible, and the workers be kept waiting as little as possible. [It is said that on the average about one-quarter of the working hours are spent in waiting about.]

THE LABOURER'S WAGE

Figures showing the rise in agricultural wages in Norfolk since 1912 are published in the current issue of the *Labourer*, the journal of the Agricultural Labourers' Union. The figures are as follows :—

1912	11s. to 13s.	...	£6 15s. to £7 5s.
1913	12s. to 14s.	...	£6 15s. to £7 5s.
1914	13s. to 15s.	...	£7 0s. to £7 10s.
1915	16s. to 18s.	...	£8 5s. to £9 0s.
1916	20s. uniform	...	£9 10s. to £10 5s.

We congratulate the Agricultural Labourers' Union in having secured these increases in wages, but as the value of the sovereign is now that of 12s. 6d. before the War, it appears that the agricultural labourers are actually worse off than they were in 1914 and no better off than in 1912.

ARMED PEACE

Viscount Grey, at the Press Association dinner, said: "It is our determination to continue the War till . . . the Allies . . . have secured the peace of the whole Continent of Europe." But that was only the peroration. Earlier in his speech, Lord Grey said: "I believe the best work neutrals can do for the moment is to work up opinion for such an agreement between the nations as will prevent a war like this happening again. If nations had been united in such an agreement, and prompt and resolute to insist, in July, 1914, that the dispute must be referred to a conference, or to The Hague, and that the Belgian Treaty must be observed, there would have been no war."

This seems to indicate a softening towards the idea of neutral intervention in the cause of peace. Let us hope it may prove to be so, though much in Lord Grey's speech was provocative and disingenuous. His most illuminating statement was that the Allies are too busy endeavouring to win the War "to spend much time in thinking about what might happen after victory is secured. But neutrals can do it." That seems tantamount to saying: "we do not know what we are fighting for or what peace terms we want, but the neutrals are invited to think out the problem for us."

Lord Grey referred sympathetically to the American League to Enforce Peace. We fear that this League is merely a device for inducing America to abandon neutrality and for setting up another sectional Alliance on the lines of the Triple Alliance or the Entente Cordiale.

* * * *

2,500 women took part in an anti-Conscription procession in Melbourne. Feeling ran very high.

A CRY FROM THE INTERNMENT CAMP.

We regret to learn that one of the prisoners at Alexandra Palace Aliens' Internment Camp has been imprisoned in the guard-room for writing to members of the Government and other powerful personages in regard to the hardships and grievances of those who are interned.

Joint Meeting of the W. S. F. and Barking Trades Council and Labour Representation Committee at the PUBLIC BATHS CONCERT HALL, BARKING on OCTOBER 29th at 7 p.m.

Speakers: MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST
Mrs. BOYCE
MR. F. SEYMOUR COCKS
MR. E. C. FAIRCHILD
Chair: MRS. DRAKE

Admission Free

"This republic is not a bread line. America is not a soup kitchen. The object of a republic is not to furnish education to tender-hearted ladies, but to make opportunities for men, women and children to live."—Dr. Anna Shaw, at the Women's Suffrage Convention, Atlantic City.

These words are appropriate here and now.

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DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

Vol. III. No. 31 Sat., October 28th, 1916

Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' WAGES

Sir Frederick Milner has sent to the Press the following interesting letter from a Brigadier-General in charge of time-expired men, which is of special interest because, coming from a military official, it bears out the complaints which we ourselves have made.

I have a daily average of 50 cases discharged physically unfit for military duty. To each of these I send the following slip:—

I am informed by records that you have been discharged invalided. Please inform me if you are desirous of employment and in what capacity.

Are you in receipt of pension? If not, what assistance are you getting, and from what source, S. and S. Help, local committee, or National Insurance?

Please let me know your religious denomination and parish, so that I may write your clergyman or minister and ask him to give you any help you need.

My object in writing is to endeavour to give you every assistance towards employment and adequate pension. Please reply on enclosed post-card 3.

I find that about 70 per cent. after being discharged from hospital and receiving the gratuity of 20s. have to wait some considerable time before they are settled with by the Pay Office, although entitled under the old Regulation to 20s. if married, 10s. if single per week, till their pension is assessed; these men get nothing until I write to S. and S. Help or the minister of the parish to look into the matter. Were it not for the action I am able to take, many of these men would be left utterly destitute.

In awarding the discharged soldier his pension the medical authorities make their award on the basis that a man is capable of earning half, quarter, &c., of a maximum wage of 25s. per week. [N.B.—He might have added that in the first place the medical boards demand to know what wages a man is earning, and if they find he is earning 20s. to 25s. a week they award no pension, however severe his injuries may be.] Granted this may be so after a certain period, but in most cases he is not able to earn anything for some weeks after his discharge; *e.g.*, a man is discharged for having lost an eye or, say, suffering from trench feet. His pension by the board is assessed at one-half, or less.

This man has to use crutches, or his other eye is weak. He is therefore quite unfit at present to do any clerical work or manual labour. He has frequently a wife and children to support. I have found many such cases.

Again, men have been enlisted into the Army carelessly to bolster up the voluntary system. It is true they should not have been enlisted, but nevertheless many have done regimental duty for a year or more, and whatever their disease was before enlistment, it has been aggravated by military service. The man should be certainly granted a pension until he is again able to earn his own living; too many are turned off without a penny.

Government grants should not be given that would encourage a man to live a life of idleness. I am, however, of opinion that a man discharged from hospital should have sufficient to support himself and family decently till a medical man can certify that he is fit to earn that portion, half or quarter, assessed by the medical board.

It is interesting to note that the records inform the officer that the man has been invalided out of the Army, but do not state whether his pension is being paid to him. Of course, there *ought* to be no need to mention this, as payment of pension to invalided men *should* be made in every case. The officer's testimony that about 70 per cent. of the men have to wait a considerable time before they get either the temporary pension promised in every case or help from charitable sources shows how exceedingly bad the present system is.

The present irresponsible plan of leaving charitable agencies to fill up the unjustifiable gaps between pay and pension and to eke out insufficient pensions is both cruelly humiliating and stupidly unbusinesslike. It is absurd that the Government official concerned should be writing to clergymen and ministers to help discharged men when it is the business of the War Office to pension them. Moreover, what is to happen if those men belong to no religious denomination?

The Brigadier-General's letter clearly exposes the cruelty of deciding that a man will be capable of earning half, or quarter, or some part of a maximum wage of 25s. a week and turning him off with that sum whilst he is still too weak to earn anything at all. Twenty-five shillings a week is in any case a paltry wage for an adult man, especially in war-time. The Brigadier General says: "Government grants should not be given that would encourage a man to live a life of idleness." There are a number of men in the country who have private unearned incomes very much larger than 25s. a week, yet no one complains that they are living in idleness, though they have lost neither arms, eyes, nor legs.

The following demands should be made by and on behalf of all soldiers and sailors' and those dependent upon them:—

(1) That separation allowances and pensions be raised in accordance with the rise in the cost of living, which has taken place since the pension scale was fixed.

(2) That a flat rate shall be paid to soldiers' and sailors' parents, and brothers and sisters under school-leaving age, equal in respect of a parent to that payable to a wife and in respect of brothers and sisters equal to that payable to dependent children of soldiers and sailors.

(3) That naval separation allowances be brought up to the level of military allowances, and that separation allowances be assured to the sailor's wife as it is to the soldier's wife.

(4) That disabled men shall not be discharged until the arrangements for the payment of pension are complete, and that there shall be no interim between the cessation of Army pay and separation allowance and the commencement of pension.

(5) That pensions to the children of soldiers shall include all the children who have been supported by the soldier, including step-children, adopted children, illegitimate children, and others, and that pensions shall not be confined to the children of the soldier born prior to his discharge, as at present, but shall include any born up to nine months after his discharge.

(6) That where a soldier or sailor makes the requisite allotment to his wife and applies for separation allowance on her behalf, this shall be granted without question, as to whether the husband and wife were residing together prior to the time of enlistment and without enquiry being instituted as to the amount contributed by the husband to the support of his wife and children.

(7) That separation allowances and pensions shall become the absolute property of those entitled to them and shall not be withdrawn for any cause. If persons in receipt of pensions or separation allowances misconduct themselves they shall be punished by the ordinary legal process applicable to others.

(8) That full pension for one year shall be granted to all soldiers and sailors discharged as physically unfit, whether their disability be caused by illness or wounds. The fact that they were accepted as fit for military service being held to be conclusive proof that the invalidity has been caused by service in the Army.

At the expiration of one year, pensioners may be re-examined to determine whether their physical condition justifies a reduction or withdrawal of pension. No reduction or withdrawal of pension to take place unless it can be proved that the man is in good physical health, and is actually earning a weekly sum equal to the amount of the pension, and no deduction of pension to be made which would reduce the total income to less than double the pension.

(9) That men discharged from the Army at the close of the War shall be entitled to full pay and separation allowance until suitable work has been found for them at a Trade Union rate of wage.

It should be remembered that 25s. a week provides but a bare subsistence, and that a man whose children are born after his discharge will receive no allowance on their account. Economists and eugenists may urge that a man who is physically unfit should not become the father of children, but it is a hard saying to apply to the whole life of a man who has lost a limb in his early youth. Moreover, we must face the fact that such admonitions are usually disregarded, and that the prospect of semi-starvation of both the parents and the future offspring has in a multitude of cases no deterrent effect.

The present appalling condition of muddle and delay and of callously broken promises can only be conceived by those who have had experience of it. The guiding official principle appears to be that every loophole for cutting down allowances must be seized.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

TO "DREADNOUGHT" READERS

APPEAL BY THE HON. TREASURER.

Expressions of appreciation of the DREADNOUGHT, and all it stands for and means to the movement, are constantly reaching us.

While we are convinced that we have succeeded in alleviating some small burden of suffering in these ghastly days, when to be widowed or mourning dear ones killed or wounded on the battlefield is no guarantee against lack of food and raiment, still our ability to continue helping such as these consists largely in the continuance of our existence—our propaganda—our paper.

In order that our work may continue unimpaired, I beg you all to make a special effort to raise £1,000. Who gives quickly gives twice! All contributions should be sent to Miss Smyth, the Financial Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY.

FROM FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS

"Vorwärts," October 2nd.—The Italian Socialist paper "Avanti," states that the hate which the soldiers bring from their homes into the trenches soon disappears. This hate is inspired by the daily newspapers. The difficulties, sacrifices, and privations change the hate into a kind of melancholy. The war-papers in the trenches do not contain any hate to the enemy in contrast with the daily newspapers at home.

* * * *

It is stated that the "Vorwärts," which has been the organ of the anti-War minority of German Socialists, has now fallen into the hands of the Socialist majority. This is the result of military orders for a change of editor.

DUTCH ARMAMENTS.

"Vorwärts," September 29th.—The World-War is a proof that armaments are a madness, and yet this War has caused the neutral countries to arm, too. The great American programme of armaments is well-known. Now Holland also begins to arm. The Dutch Socialist paper "Het Volk," shows that according to the statement of the Minister of Finance the Dutch financial position is very bad. Nevertheless, the Minister grants 17,623,250 florins to the Navy for building warships, of which 7,853,900 are for India, and 6,769,350 for Holland. Up till now it was usual to ask for only four millions for the Navy, so that is a great increase. When asking for 17½ millions, the Minister referred to the great World-War. The "Het Volk" reminds us that this War is the result of increased armaments.

Does Holland fear to be driven into this War or does she arm for a future War which threatens in the East?

* * * *

"L'Indépendence Belge," October 16th.—The miners in Seraign (Liège district), Belgium, are on strike because they do not get enough bread in the mines.

* * * *

"Volksrecht," October 6th.—The German Socialist minority has asked the Reichstag to suspend all proceedings against Liebknecht during the Reichstag session.

* * * *

"Berner Tagwacht," October 2nd.—The Russian Socialist paper, "Nashe Slovo," published in Paris, has been suppressed, and the editor, Trokky, has been expelled from France, and had to leave for Spain within five days.

To replace the suppressed paper, another Russian Socialist paper, "Natchalo," has been published.

* * * *

"L'Humanité," October 15th.—The vice-president of the asked the Chancellor in the Reichstag whether he knows that the "Vorwärts" has been suppressed by the military authorities, and what he intends to do in order to re-establish the liberty of the Press in Germany.

* * * *

"Vorwärts," 3/10/16.—The vice-president of the Duma Duma Prohopopow has been nominated Home Minister in Russia. The "Vorwärts" comments that this nomination is of great importance because he belongs to the Liberal Duma Party.

* * * *

"L'Humanité," October 15th.—Great mass meetings are to be held in Spain to demand from the Government measures for the amelioration of the situation of the working people who suffer through the economic crisis and increased food prices. Should these meetings have no result it is decided to make a protest strike for 24 hours.

A DIFFICULT QUESTION

An appeal from a number of more or less well-known women has been issued appealing to mothers and wives to join in demanding the compulsory notification of venereal disease.

The National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases has issued a reply stating that notification is only one means to an end—the suppression of these diseases: and a much more comprehensive scheme is necessary if that end is to be obtained.

"To be effective," the Council contends, "the scheme must include as the first and most necessary measures:

1. The provision in every area of adequate facilities for prompt diagnosis and efficient treatment, free of charge.
2. The prohibition of quack treatment.
3. The granting of privilege to any communication made in good faith by a medical man in order to prevent the spread of infection.

"Notification must be futile, unless accompanied by police measures for enforcing treatment which could not be given until full facilities have been made available to all classes. When these facilities have been provided, the question of compulsion can be considered."

Women would do well to examine all such proposals most carefully. It would be most disastrous to allow anything approaching the loathsome and degrading State Regulation of Vice to be re-enacted.

HUMAN SUFFRAGE

The Times says:—"It is understood that Ministers are carrying out Mr. Asquith's promise that they would give "serious and sympathetic" attention to the question of enabling soldiers and sailors to record their votes. They have, however, not yet come to a final decision. The proposal that men should actually record their votes at the front seems to have been ruled out. Consideration is being given in Government circles to an alternative scheme of a novel and interesting character. It is, briefly, that soldiers and sailors on active service should be given the right to vote by proxy. In that event, a fighting man's vote would be recorded, in accordance with his wishes, in his constituency at home by a person nominated by him—possibly his wife. . . . Meanwhile, members interested in the question regard it as imperative that the Government should come to an early decision, as the Special Register Bill cannot be proceeded with until this matter of principle has been settled."

* * * *

Lord Courtney, writing to *The Times*, advocates various makeshift compromises for women's enfranchisement, any compromise, it seems, will do—for women. He suggests: (1) That women might receive the vote on the terms at present applicable to men; (2) that those terms might apply to single women whilst the wives of voters should vote as joint occupiers; (3) the women to vote at a later age than men; (4) that men's votes should continue on the present qualifications that women able to meet those qualifications and the wives of voters should be enfranchised at a later age than 21. We emphatically refuse assent to any of these compromises. We desire the ending of all such makeshifts and the establishment of adult manhood and womanhood suffrage. Australia, New Zealand, and four provinces of Canada have taken this wise and simple course—why not this country?

* * * *

Sir Edward Donner, to whom the Freedom of the City of Manchester was granted the other day, said that he had been converted from an anti-suffragist to a suffragist.

"Who Suffers most by the War?" *Report on Essay Competition by Wilfrid Wilson Gibson.*

Though the number of entries for this competition has been surprisingly small, only seven essays having been sent in, it has been no easy task deciding which was the best. I have hesitated long between the admirable essay by E. L. Osmund and the almost equally admirable essay by Miss Lucy Whitehead. There was very little to choose between them. However, though I have the greatest sympathy with Miss Whitehead's contention that the children suffer most, though not always consciously, by the War; and, though she states her case clearly and concisely; it seems to me that E. L. Osmund's essay, on the whole, has most literary merit, and I have great pleasure in awarding the book prize to its author, Miss Whitehead's essay easily coming second. The remaining essays, though all deeply interesting and excellent in intention, are not on the same level of achievement. "Myrtle," who first clears the ground, by answering the question, "Who suffers least by the War?" has, perhaps, written the third best essay, though "Joan's" essay has almost equal merit. "Beatrice" has done very well for her age, though she has devoted too much of her space to summarising the history of the War. I was much touched by her note of apology for bad hand-writing; but she is too pessimistic! She says: "I am fourteen and a month, and I will never be able to alter my writing now." May I assure her that there is plenty of time for improvement? I, who am considerably more than three times her age, have not given up all hope of my own hand-writing even yet!

"A Suffering Mother's" short, but poignant, letter hardly comes within the category of essay, and so is outside the scope of this competition. And the same is true, though for very different reasons, of the too-egotistical effusion of "A Rebel to the Last." May I suggest to him, as one ardently in sympathy with much that he tries to express, that he would have had ample time to finish his essay if he had made some attempt to stick to the point? I hardly dare, as one of the class of professional writers on whom he pours such scorn, to make the further suggestion that he has much to learn from those he despises; and that inexperience is not necessarily a sign of sincerity. A writer who takes the trouble to express himself with precision and lucidity is not necessarily less sincere than a carpenter who has taken the trouble to learn how to use his tools. Let me assure "A Rebel to the Last" that there are some of us who mean what we say every bit as much as he means what he says; and the proof of our sincerity is that we have spared no pains to express the truth that is in us with our utmost strength and skill.

PRIZE ESSAY.

It seems to me that it is unquestionably the mother who suffers most by the War.

If her sons have been taken from her to be made soldiers she feels the loss far more than the father does, because she has tended them from the time they were helpless babies. She fed them, cared for them night and day, watched unfailingly their first faltering footsteps, dreaded the time when they had first to leave her side to take their place in a crowd of older, bigger children at school, or later under a master in shop or office.

The father was proud in a way of his sons, especially the first-born, but regarded them as a kind of human curiosity in their early years, more suitable for women to look after, although he occasionally nursed them on Sundays while the dinner was being prepared, or even, when older, took them out for an airing. Later he would praise their efforts at school, or help them into situations, but the tie between the father and sons was never the same intimate affectionate one that existed between mother and sons.

When the War took the sons, the father was proud that his sons were taking their share in defending their country, and he proudly imagined them coming home covered with glory, but the mother would remember how nervous one had been as a child, how another dreaded the thought of killing his fellow-creatures, and would imagine them lying wounded or sick amongst strangers.

Does not also the great burden of high prices fall mainly on the mother's shoulders? The husband whose income has been lessened by war sorrowfully announces that he must henceforth give her a smaller housekeeping allowance each week, just when the price of all household necessities is rapidly rising.

After a few weeks he forgets that she has to cater for them on less money and inquires why there is no longer any bacon or eggs for her breakfast. When the high prices are explained he feels rather uncomfortable, but argues that men who have hard manual work to do *must* feed well—women's work is much less strenuous and she can always sit down if she feels tired.

On Sundays, if he is observant, the husband sees that the joint is smaller, and although his own share is not quite so liberal as it used to be, the children are having much the same as usual, but the mother is hardly having any. And so it goes on. The children who are growing *must* be fed, they must have milk and sugar and fruit, and as the money is less than before the War, the one who has ceased growing and does not go out to work must be the one to go short. The cooking becomes a longer process and more tiring. It is so much easier to put a joint into the oven than to cut up odd pieces of meat, stew and skim bones, soak and cook beans, and mince left-over vegetables,—so much quicker to bake a milk pudding than to make tasty puddings out of odds and ends of bread, fruit and porridge; but it must be done if both ends are to meet.

Food also is not the only problem. The laundry prices have risen, and things that had gone out to be washed must now be done by the mother; first a few things, then more and more till the washing and ironing assume formidable proportions, and the mother who used to be able to sit down and empty her mending basket each week now sees the unmended articles accumulating in larger quantities than ever before, because there is no money to buy new. So the old ones must be darned and patched and lengthened and altered and made to last much longer, and instead of making dresses from new material, the mother has to make up her own or friendly relations' old ones for her little girls.

It is she who notices that little feet are getting too big for the shoes which are not yet worn out, and dreads announcing the fact because she knows how little money is available for new ones.

When the clever daughter comes home and says that she has won the scholarship which will enable her to go on with her education a few years longer, it is the mother who negatives the father's suggestion that it would be better for the girl to go to work and bring home something to add to the family exchequer. She looks to the future, and hopes, by careful planning, to make sure that the opportunity shall not be lost.

When the dreaded Zeppelin is humming overhead, the mother, who clasps the frightened child to her, becomes cold with terror lest the beloved little one, so healthy, so affectionate, just budding into intelligence and beauty, should be blighted with fear, or even suffer bodily harm, or be stricken with sudden death. When the husband reads triumphantly the defeat of the enemy and the list of his losses, how can the mother rejoice in the victory? She cannot help picturing the numbers of fine, strong young men who have fallen as the price of victory or defeat, all mothers' sons like her own, whether those of friend or foe. There can be no real rejoicing for her, nothing but an ardent longing that peace may soon be restored, that the time will soon come when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, and war and its terrible glory perish from the face of the earth, whose beauty it is destroying.—E. L. Osmond.

THE TRAIL OF THE WAR

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

To the Editor of Dreadnought. Old Ford Road, E.

Madam,—At a time when the cherished rights and liberties of the British people are disappearing under the operations of the Defence of the Realm Act, it is difficult to maintain public interest in what is known as the right of asylum. No doubt this is because the possible abrogation of the right of asylum appears to affect foreigners to a greater extent than ourselves. But this is an extremely short-sighted view of the matter. If the question is examined in all its bearings it will be seen to affect Englishmen at least as closely as it affects foreigners.

A great part of England's case in the War rests upon the assertion that she is fighting the enemy of Justice, Truth, Freedom, and everything liberal and progressive. Yet with a ruthlessness almost Prussian in its indifference to the the claims of humanity, Truth is falsified, Justice is mocked and Freedom is enslaved.

From the legal point of view, it is clear beyond doubt that there is no justification for the compulsory enlistment in the British Army of friendly aliens. A Russian Barrister writing in the *Daily Chronicle* on the 1st of this month sets out the legal argument conclusively.

The immunity of friendly aliens from deportation ("repatriation" as it is called) rests upon the same foundation as that which supports every other tradition of English liberty and justice. As Lord Sheffield says, "The right of asylum has long been the settled policy of this country." It is as much a part of the law of the land as the Habeas Corpus Act.

Let no one imagine that the foreigner has reaped all the advantage of the right of asylum. England's name has shone through the darkest years of European history as the symbol of a haven for those whom religious and political persecution drove out from their own homes. Progressive thinkers and writers whose activities clashed with the interests of their own rulers, found their way in large numbers to England and gave their brains and their hearts to the cause of progress in a more congenial atmosphere.

What, then, has put a stop to all this? What madness can urge England to discard so lightly a tradition which has been a source of power to herself and an uplifting influence upon Europe? The obvious answer is "War." But War is only the indirect cause. War has unchained certain reactionary forces in England which are steadily destroying *within the country* just these ideas and principles in support of which the country is supposed to be fighting. The freedom of the progressive press was the first to go; then the right of public meeting. The rest was easy. With the Habeas Corpus Act on the scrap-heap, the abrogation of the right of asylum seemed only natural.

What reasons were urged in support of the proposal to "repatriate" these Russians, Serbs, Poles, and other friendly aliens? It is useless to look to the Home Secretary for the reasons. In answering questions in the House of Commons he disclaims any desire to deport political refugees to Russia, but continues: "I can see no reason why a political refugee from Russia should not serve in the Army of free England." In other words, he can see no reason why an opponent of Russian reaction and a victim of bureaucratic persecution should refuse to fight for his oppressors provided he does so through the Army of free England! Nevertheless, he gives no reason why the refugee *should* fight for his oppressors. Apparently, he can see no reason why England should not be the first country to abandon definitely by legislative or administrative act the principle of the right of asylum. It was not even alleged that the Russian Government desired that any steps should be taken by the British Government to enlist Russians into the British Army, or, alternatively, to "repatriate" them. But we are to understand from Mr. Samuel that "there might be a Press campaign" against friendly aliens resident in Great Britain, as though this were a sufficient reason for the Government to start a campaign on its own account only less infamous than the campaign in the Press. We had heard of "pogroms" in Russia, but we had never heard of pogroms in Britain. Now we can see how one curtailment of freedom leads to another, how a democracy can by degrees become an autocracy. It is in the nature of an autocracy to act in certain ways. One can expect nothing less and nothing more from an autocracy in England than from an autocracy in Russia. To get at the root of this anti-alien movement one must keep one's attention turned to the power which so often determines the actions of the Government, viz., the gutter Press. It was the gutter Press which initiated the raiding and looting of German bakeries in London, and by so doing dealt a more damaging blow at England's honour than anything achieved by the Germans. It was the gutter Press which started the outcry against friendly aliens—job-stealers as they were called. It is the gutter Press which demands that the fight shall be a fight to a finish, because, long before Germany is finished, the corpse of England's honour and England's fame will be in the gutter itself, stained and blackened with printer's ink and printer's mud.

The official shifts, excuses and evasions which litter the pages of Hansard need not be traversed in detail. The proposal to set up Tribunals to determine who are political refugees, and who are not is monstrous. The right of asylum abrogated, and of what use are Tribunals? They cannot repair broken promises or rehabilitate scraps of paper.

We ask Englishmen of all shades of political opinion to demand that these unwise reactionary and unnecessary measures shall be dropped. Let us maintain inviolate the principle of the right of asylum. While our diplomats talk of the gradually disappearing "rights of small nations," while our politicians engage in wordy battle with Prussian tyranny and German ambitions, let us apply ourselves to the no less onerous task of preserving the rights of the "small nations" in our midst. Let us defend the Russians, the Poles, the Serbs, the foreign Jews, and all other friendly aliens (all of them our guests) from the Huns who would drive them back to their persecutors. Let us prevent at least one tragedy in the history of the struggle for Freedom.

The Committee for the Right of Asylum.

MRS. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON

A few weeks ago owing to serious illness, Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington was ordered by her doctor to take a complete rest and change and to abstain even from letter writing. She therefore left Dublin giving no address. As soon as the authorities learnt that she was gone detectives called at the house where she had been staying and threatened the landlady with grave penalties for not having obtained from Mrs. Skeffington the address to which she was going. The registration form which has to be filled up by persons staying in hotels and boarding houses demands that aliens and not British subjects shall give such information. Nevertheless, the landlady was told that she ought to have insisted that Mrs. Skeffington should fill up the entire form. Detectives were also stationed at the houses of Mrs. Skeffington's sister and mother, and the police made enquiries at the houses of their friends. When Mrs. Skeffington's mother, who is seriously ill, was removed in an ambulance to a nursing home, detectives were stationed there. When Mrs. Skeffington returned owing to her mother's illness she inquired of the police as to why she was being thus spied upon, but obtained no information.

The authorities so far from feeling remorse for the cruel bereavement which this poor woman has suffered at the hands of one of the military appear to be bent upon persecuting and annoying her!

EAST END NIGHT

THE moon is hidden, but the sky is suffused with light. The paint-smeared gas-lamps glow subdued, and throw only small zones of shadowy radiance on the ground. The buildings retire into the shade. Mysterious city, lovelier in the dignity of half-tones than in the old garishness of many lights.

Short youths, wearing dark clothes and soft white crumpled collars; shorter maidens with rounded forms in long drab coats and white straw hats. Everywhere they are together. He is pale with hollow cheeks and deep-set eyes. Her face is soft and flower-like; its outlines merge into the shadow of her hair. In the vague rosiness of shade one sees her eyes are dark and her lips red and full. They stand by the roadside. He looks out straight and thoughtful, his fingers playing with hers as though in wonder finding them so small. The awe of the silent night and the happiness of love enfolds them. Waves of their pleasure pass from them into the surrounding air.

The shop windows are shrouded. Blinds hide the glaring lights of the public house. Fear of police vigilance and neighbours' anger screens off the tiniest ray. Only the fried fishmonger displays temerity. No actual naked light is seen through his unglazed window, but the window is open as of yore, and the interior shows the more brilliant in the general gloom. The shopman, his shirt-sleeves rolled above the elbow, leans with folded arms upon the window-sill talking to the few loungers who are still abroad. His customers are few. The once busy night life of the streets has passed away. No longer are the side turnings thronged with groups of neighbours talking upon their thresholds, cats arching their backs in stealthy grace are now more numerous than the human passers-by.

THE CHILDREN'S BIRTHRIGHT (continued from front page)

and tore small children from the arms of their mothers. Often the mother fell upon the floor in agony or tried to kill herself.

"Who pays the cost of the institutions?" was Judge Neil's next question.

"They are paid ten dollars a month for each child from county tax funds," was the reply of officials.

"Why not pay this ten dollars to the mother, and permit her to keep her own children?" he asked.

"That cannot be done," said the wise Judge. "The law says we must take the children away from their mothers and place them in institutions."

"Why not change the law?" was Neil's question as he continued his investigation among institutions and officials.

In March of 1911 he went before the State legislature of Illinois and asked them to adopt an amendment to the Juvenile Court law authorising the Juvenile Court to pay the $10 a month to mothers and permit them to keep their own children. The legislature agreed with Judge Neil and the law was adopted unanimously as follows:—

> "If the parent or parents of such neglected or dependent child are poor and unable to care for said child, but are otherwise proper guardians, and it is for the welfare of such child to remain at home, the Court may enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to care properly for such child, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the County Board, through its county agent or otherwise, to pay to such parent or parents, at such times as said order may designate, the amount so specified for the care of such dependent neglected child until further order of the Court.

The law was to go into force on July 1st, 1911. On June 1st Judge Neil was in the Juvenile Court of Chicago. A mother sat in a chair before the Court. She held an infant in her arms and two other children, aged two and four, held to her skirts. She tried to embrace the little ones at her knee. The Court was about to take them from her for ever because she was in poverty. She was a high school graduate, and ten months before had a husband, and they were preparing to spend their savings of $500 in a home. Her husband was killed in the steel mills, and she paid the funeral expenses and invested the small balance in a boarding-house. Of course she failed, and was turned out of her home. The "charity experts," the lawyers, and the Juvenile Court Judge all agreed that the only thing that could be done was to take the children from her and place them in an institution which would be paid $45 a month for caring for the babies.

"I will pay her a pension until July 1st, and then she can get the regular mothers' pension," was the proposal of Neil and the Juvenile Court Judge agreed. This mother was the first mother ever pensioned by any State. For the first time in the history of the country the State had stepped in to preserve a family which was to be broken up for the crime of poverty.

For longer than ten years the Juvenile Court in Chicago, the first of its kind, had been tearing children from their mothers' arms and inflicting punishment more painful than the thumb screw upon innocent children and their helpless mothers. But the tide had turned and now Judge Neil has seen the Juvenile Court procedure in twenty-seven States changed and thousands of children and their mothers have since been rescued from the disgrace of charity.

The mothers' pension system for abolishing child-poverty is not a charity. It is not a humanitarian relief measure. It is a utilitarian system for the benefit of society, just like the public school, and it is destined to be of equal importance in building up the country, reducing taxes, promoting human happiness and producing loyal, healthy men and women in the place of the defectives turned out by charity methods.

"It is cheaper to hire the mother to care for her own children than to pay institutions," says Judge Neil from scores of platforms throughout the country. "It is more human, children reared by their own mothers will make good citizens. Children raised in institutions have the wrong training and are not prepared for family life and citizenship. It is folly to spend money for public schools and try to educate children who are not properly fed, clothed and cared for. The physical and mental defective, the incompetent, the criminal elements are largely produced by child poverty and money paid for mothers' pensions to abolish child-poverty returns in the reduced cost of hospitals, police courts, jails, and asylums. Go into any Court anywhere in the land, and these facts will be proven to any citizen who takes the trouble to investigate.

The mothers' pension system was no sooner adopted in Illinois than an enemy appeared from an unexpected quarter. The organised charity societies of Chicago and the entire country were up in arms against the new idea, and in every city and town of the nation these charity experts are still fighting mothers' pensions in every way they can.

These charity experts beg money to give to the poor? They demand a monopoly of begging. They are poverty brokers and enable givers to get a Christian sensation by giving small amounts to charity. The charity experts keep most of the money collected for expenses and disgrace the children they pretend to take care of.

In no case have these professional charity beggars ever been able to get sufficient money even to touch the child-poverty problem. They favour the institution and oppose the mother. But in spite of this organised opposition the mothers' pension idea has spread faster than any other reform in the history of the world, for the reason that it is obvious to all thoughtful citizens that a child raised in poverty becomes, in most cases, an expense to the community and that it is cheaper to permit the natural mother to keep the children and to raise them in their own home.

The torture of mothers and children inflicted by charity experts uncovered by Judge Neil and the commission later appointed by the Governor of New York State, is similar to torment common in the dark ages. Children sent to institutions and contaminated with loathsome diseases have been rescued by Judge Neil and returned to their mothers under the pension system.

But the old days are gone for ever. A new day has dawned in the United States where so many new aids to life have been conceived and developed.

"Within ten years," says Judge Neil, "there will be no child-poverty. No State will permit its children to go hungry, poorly clothed, and no State will take children from their own mothers and turn them over to soulless institutions. No State can to-day afford to abandon the public school system which has grown because it is efficient and just. Likewise, no State can afford to abandon the mothers' pension system and every State must improve and extend the pension plan for abolishing child-poverty or fall behind in the advance of commonwealths."

"The idea that children should be kept in poverty because their father is a drunkard, a criminal or incompetent, is inhuman, wasteful, and bad policy from every point of view, to pretend that funds can be begged to solve the problem of child-poverty is dangerous as it destroys the self-respect of charity's victims and perpetuates the disgrace of poverty children.

"Within ten years the United States will have no children stunted by poverty, and we will then be really preparing for peace or for defence of our country. Last year more than 70 per cent. of the young men applying for enlistment in the military and naval forces were found to be physically or mentally unfit. This reveals to all the awful effect of child poverty on the manhood of the country. We must feed all children, keep them with their own mother if she is living. The mothers' pension system is the best and only way that this can be done successfully. Every pensioned mother in New York City receives a letter from the child welfare commissioner, in which he says: 'This pension is not a charity. It is given to you by the laws of the land.' This expresses the idea and everywhere officials in charge of the pension system are delighted with the results obtained. Little starved children begin to blossom. Their harassed mothers take on new life and become happy mothers ready to discharge their duties to their children and to the State. Every loyal American should at once enlist in the campaign to abolish child-poverty by means of the mothers' pension system. Many are needed to promote the welfare of our nation by abolishing the rotten place caused by child poverty.

"Human slavery is now considered disgraceful. Child poverty will soon be a disgrace to the nation, and we will not permit this suffering to be inflicted upon children. The benefits of the public school system are extended to the child of the drunkard, to the son of the criminal and to the daughter of the prostitute. So must the mothers' pension system be extended to abolish all child poverty and the failure of parents must not be permitted to destroy their children who are part of the State. We all pay for child-poverty in the end. Let us wipe it out and save money and do the greatest kindness that we can do by making it possible for all mothers to keep their children and to live with them and care for them in health and love and happiness."

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

October 17th. Mr. James Hope (Treasurer of the Household) announced that an agreement has been reached between the French and German Governments whereby sentences of death and other grave penalties passed on prisoners of War will be delayed till the end of the War.

Is the British Government taking steps to join in this agreement? Such an arrangement would have saved the lives of Nurse Cavell and Captain Fryatt.

* * * *

Mr. Ronald McNeil heckled Lord Robert Cecil about Greece. He asked whether Great Britain and the Allies had recognised the provisional Government of Venizelos, and suggested that as the Allied Governments have guaranteed a conditional Government to Greece they have the right to upset the Government of the Greek King.

What would Mr. McNeil and his Unionist friends have thought if some great Power not at War with England had interfered on behalf of the Irish Rebels or the English Suffragettes?

* * * *

Major Hunt demanded that neutral countries should be prevented from importing all oils and fats in case some of them should reach Germany.

But neutral peoples need oils and fats for themselves. What about the rights of small nations?

* * * *

Mr. Forster said that the strength of the Non-Combatant Corps was 2,691 on October 1st, 1916.

EXPOSURE TO VENEREAL INFECTION IN THE ARMY.

Mr. Foster, in reply to Mr. Edmund Harvey, admitted that conscientious objectors suffering from serious organic disease of the heart, lungs, and kidneys, and from double hernia have been detained in Hut 16X, Royal Herbert Hospital, Woolwich, with men suffering from venereal disease with inadequate sanitary accommodation affording no protection against infection.

Some time ago attention was drawn to a similar case, and it was promised that this should not occur again. Such callousness and carelessness may be a danger to every youth in the Army. We hesitate to believe that this diabolical punishment has been deliberately planned.

* * * *

Mr. Doris drew attention to the case of an Irish migratory labourer who was forced to join the Army in Liverpool. Mr. Forster said he was making inquiries.

* * * *

With reference to the substitution of "less fit men now in the Army for more fit men now in civil employment." Mr. Anderson pointed out that at Wokingham, Major Bartram had said that he "was in a position to give employers a guarantee that any workman sent to them under the new conditions, was liable to be returned to the Colours at any time if he displeased his employers." Also, in the Isle of Wight, Colonel Lewis said unfit men in Class W were being returned to their employers, and, if there were any "hanky-panky" on the workmen's part, the military would tell them to come back to military service and give the employer another man. Mr. Forster replied that he was making inquiry.

From these statements the conscript state would seem to be already established.

* * * *

In reply to questions and accusations about payments of pensions, Mr. Forster explained: That small pensions of 4s. 8d. and 6s. are for disabilities which are not due to military service; that for the man who is to be discharged for disability, the date of discharge is now fixed for three weeks later, and the pension-paying office immediately informed. If when discharged the pension is not fixed he gets 14s. a week temporary allowance. During the three weeks before discharge he gets full pay and allowance, and separation is paid to his dependants until two weeks after discharge.

Mr. Forster made these statements as though to prove that no further cases of hardships could possibly arise. Yet we find that fresh cases have to be treated by the League of Rights from day to day. Moreover, how can a family exist on 14s. a week? Mr. Hogge and Mr. Anderson urged that separation allowances should be increased to meet the increased cost of living.

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Appeals were made on account of the high price of sugar. Mr. McKenna could do nothing.

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Questions revealed the fact that the Government supplies more expensive artificial limbs to officers than to soldiers. Mother Nature makes no such class distinctions!

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Mr. McCallum Scott voiced the complaint of Scottish farmers that game, the sport of the rich, are damaging their crops and grazing land.

Why not suspend the game laws?

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The Prime Minister stated that the resolutions passed at the recent International Conference at Paris have been submitted to the Governments of the Dominions.

They have not been submitted to the people of this or any nation.

* * * *

Mr. Duke stated that a committee has been appointed to consider payments out of public funds to those who have suffered injury or loss through the Irish Rebellion "without misconduct or defeat on their part" and their dependants.

What is the difference between fatherless children whose fathers were Sinn Feiners, and those whose fathers were not?

* * * *

Mr. Field said that owing to the increased cost of coal in Dublin it will be necessary to provide a fund to avert a fuel famine.

* * * *

Mr. McKinnon Wood excused the payment of War bonus to women at half the rates allowed to men by the statement that the "majority of men now serving in Government departments have to maintain their families out of their wages, whereas the majority of women do not." It would be of interest to know how he ascertained this, the fact that those men may be married, does not mean that the women have not mothers, sisters, etc., whom they support.

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Mr. Brace said the number of conscientious objectors who have been given work under the Home Office, is 1,037, whilst 214 had refused such work, 300 more are on furlough, work not yet having been provided for them.

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Mr. Primrose said that of the 10 Clyde deportees 3 have been allowed to return to Glasgow and 1 has to go to Canada.

Sir R. Cooper urged that the Committee on Franchise and registration should recommend the disfranchisement of so-called conscientious objectors, also that it should declare that Ireland is over-represented in Parliament.

* * * *

Mr. Ginnell's suspension from the service of the House was terminated on the motion of the Prime Minister.

FOOD PRICES

On the Consolidation Fund Bill, Mr. Barnes raised the question of food prices. He said that nothing had so angered the people of this country as the enormous profits made out of their food except the "shameless excuses" made for the profiteers by the Government. He urged that the Wheat Commission should have power to buy at home as well as abroad. He referred to the advice to farmers to give their milk to the pigs for a time until they could get the price they wanted in Bournemouth given by the East Anglican Dairy Farmers' Association. He asked for the appointment of a Minister of Food.

* * * *

Captain Bathurst asked for an assurance that large imports of wheat by the Government would not greatly lower prices in this country in order that the British farmers would not fear to grow corn. He said that this year there had been a decrease in the wheat area of 260,000 acres, and that 112,000 acres are lying fallow this autumn, which were under cultivation during the summer. All this is, of course, an argument for State farming, for the State can boldly face risks which are impossible for a private farmer. Captain Bathurst further called for the employment on the land of boys and girls over twelve years of age.

* * * *

Mr. George Lambert complained that there never were enough labourers upon the land, and now 30 per cent. of them have been sent to the War. Too many men had been taken for unnecessary home defence. Moreover, the engines for threshing the corn had been commandeered by the Government.

These War results will go on increasing till peace comes.

* * * *

Mr. Anderson said that unless the Government would do something not merely to steady prices, but to bring down prices, there would be demands for increases in wages, separation allowances, and pensions. The Government claimed that millions of pounds had been saved by large-scale buying for the Army. Why could not the Government do as much for the civilian population?

* * * *

The *Glasgow Herald* had reported on September 19th, that the black-faced sheep grazing of Auchallander was to be added to the Forest Wilderness for deer. This ought not to be tolerated when the nation was concerned about its food supply.

* * * *

Mr. Lough condemned the report of the Departmental Committee on food prices, describing it as "the pious opinions of a few outsiders who were afraid to grapple with the problem." Many of us agree with this view, but Mr. Lough's demand of the Government is that it shall do nothing to regulate prices, profits, or supply, and therefore he ought to be pleased with the vagueness of the report.

* * * *

Mr. Chiozza Money stated that in May, 1916, prices in America had risen by only 11 per cent. since June, 1914. On all commodities but sugar, the price had risen less than in this country, but the price of sugar in America had risen more than here.

MR. RUNCIMAN'S REPLY.

Mr. Runciman made an unconvincing reply in which he endeavoured to get the better of his critics by saying that he was "hungering and thirsting for business propositions," but that these were not forthcoming. It was noticeable, however, that he opposed, as he has done from the first, every suggestion put forward, though he has adopted, tardily and in part, a number of suggestions which he has begun by condemning as impossible. He brought out again as one reason for high prices the stale and revolting excuse that the soldiers are eating more food than they were ever able to get before, and asserted that: "We are bound to feed the men more abundantly than in times of peace, because the whole success depends upon their being in the pink of health." He stated that out of 10,000 ocean-going vessels only 1,100 were left free to conduct their own operations. Of the remainder some vessels were employed in the service of the Allied Governments, others were released for carrying definite urgently needed commodities or trading on behalf of the Allies or the Colonies. These vessels were not running under Admiralty rules. Mr. Runciman refrained from giving any particulars as to the charges and profits of firms whose ships are thus utilised. Such revelations will be made after the War is over.

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October 18th.—Mr. Lloyd George said that the War Office had "information from a very reliable source" that Mr. Russell's proposed lecture tour would "interfere very seriously with the manning of the Army." The War Office evidently fears the truth.

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Mr. Pretyman stated that the possibility of taking steps to secure a limitation of milk prices without reducing the supply "is engaging the careful attention of the Board of Trade and the Board of Agriculture"

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In reply to Mr. Anderson, Mr. Primrose stated that the number of convictions against workmen under the Munitions Act is 13,649. The number of convictions against employers for the same period is 193.

* * * *

Mr. Anderson related that a youth was fined 7s. 6d. at the London Munitions Tribunal for refusing to transfer to a dangerous machine at which a girl a few days later lost her fingers. The danger could be obviated by extra expense on the part of the employer.

Mr. Primrose postponed his reply.

* * * *

Mr. Samuel admitted that Irish political prisoners were punished for refusing to give information in regard to one of their number whom it was alleged was liable for Military service.

* * * *

Mr. Chancellor drew attention to the infliction of inhuman barbarities upon Mr. George Beardsworth, Mr. Dukes and Mr. George Benson by order of Major Roddy in the public park, Birmingham.

Mr. Forster admitted that there had been "irregularities." The conscientious objectors had been tried by court-martial, and after the promulgation of the sentence upon them an inquiry would be held. The officer guilty of the cruel "irregularities" in the meantime remains at his post.

Mr. Jowett drew attention to the fact that men clerks at the War Office and Adastral House work a week of only 42 hours before being paid for overtime, whilst women clerks have to work 48 hours before getting extra pay.

GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

Mr. J. Redmond opened the debate on the Irish question by moving "That the system of government at present maintained in Ireland is inconsistent with the principles for which the Allies are fighting in Europe, and has been mainly responsible for the recent unhappy events and for the present state in that country." He enumerated the various difficulties put in the way of recruiting by the War Office, the snubbing of Home Rulers and Irish Regiments, and the blow given to Irish confidence in the Home Rule prospect by the formation of the Coalition Government. The Easter rebellion had been dealt with with panicky violence, only 1,500 men had taken part in it, but 3,200 people were arrested; executions took place day after day and week after week, terror and indignation spread through the land. The Prime Minister had visited Ireland and had stated on his return that the Castle system had hopelessly broken down, but it had been set up again not under a Liberal Chief Secretary as before, but under a Unionist. So long as this continued no real improvement could be hoped for. The only way out of the dilemma was to put Home Rule in force without delay. The weakness of Mr. Redmond's speech was that he spoke only of recruiting and did not refer to the system of Government in Ireland as it affects the everyday life of the people. Mr. T. P. O'Connor recalled the attempt of Major Price to bribe John MacNeill by promising that his life would be spared if he would implicate Mr. Dillon and Mr. Devlin in the Rebellion. Mr. O'Connor declared that Captain Bowen Colthurst was not more mad than Casement and added that "No British diplomatist can go into the Peace Conference with clean hands if the question of Ireland has not been settled."

Mr. Dillon condemned the treatment of Irish political prisoners in Frongoch camp. "No modern civilised State treats political prisoners as common convicts. England occupies an unenviable pre-eminence in this matter." Mr. Devlin amongst other home truths said, "You can never do the right thing, even by accident in Ireland." The Chief Secretary, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Samuel spoke on behalf of the Government. Martial law was excused as being the same as the Defence of Realm Act, though called by the name which any child should know is most distasteful to the Irish. Mr. Duke and Mr. Samuel seemed to think coercion was the only possible thing for Ireland. Mr. Asquith made the lamest attempt to defend the Government action by saying: "The bad atmosphere that at present exists in Ireland to which my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary referred can only be dispersed by an agreed settlement on Irish Government." The division resulted in 108 *Ayes*, 303 *Noes*, yet the House contains a majority of Members who profess to believe in Home Rule.

* * * *

October 19th.—Mr. Snowden asserted that Labour Exchange Officials are instructed not to find jobs for unattested men of military age who have been employed in controlled factories, but to report them to the recruiting office. Mr. Pretyman replied that the instructions are not to assist men evading Military service. In practice it comes to much the same thing.

GOVERNMENT ALLOWS DEFIANCE OF RENT ACT.

Mr. Fitzpatrick stated that poor tenants on the De Vesci estate, Queen's County, Ireland, have been made to pay increases in rent—of 50 per cent. in some cases. Mr. Duke replied that the executive could not interfere. What about the Rent Act!

* * * *

Mr. Thomas protested against the practice of refusing to sell sugar except with at least 4s. worth of other groceries.

* * * *

Major Hunt, Colonel Yate and Sir Edward Carson demanded the withdrawal of naturalisation certificates. Why force the nation to commit this breach of faith?

* * * *

Mr. Hogge exposed the extraordinary injustice under which the widows and children of those who lost their lives in Mesopotamia are not entitled to grants by the Statutory Committee unless the soldiers were paid out of the public funds of the United Kingdom. Those dependent on soldiers who were paid out of the Indian Revenue are to get nothing from the Statutory Committee. The same rule applies to disabled men. What red tape! Every soldier ought to be on the same footing.

* * * *

Mr. Goldstone drew attention to the full-time employment of children of twelve years of age in cotton mills. Mr. Brace said the Factory Department had heard of a "few cases of children being employed full-time for short periods during the recent school holidays." He admitted it to be "illegal," but it had not been thought necessary " in the circumstances" to take proceedings.

* * * *

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald pleaded the cause of the conscientious objector amongst others, condemning the action of the Government in putting highly intellectual men to such work as road-making and dairy-farming—where they were doing more harm than good. Mr. Brace protested that most of the conscientious objectors asked no better than to be treated exactly like the soldiers. He asserted that the conditions at Dyce were no worse than those in the soldiers' camps, but in reply to Major Newman he admitted that at Dyce the usual floor boards were not supplied in the muddy tents.

* * * *

Lord Hugh Cecil suggested that conscientious objectors should be remanded to civil prisons until their cases were decided. They should then be required to give consent in writing either to serve in the Army, the Non-Combatant Corps or to perform alternative service as a Board appointed by the Home Office should direct. If they refused they should be sent to prison until the end of the War or till they agreed to serve.

* * * *

The second reading of the Bill to give power to the trustees appointed under the will of Cecil Rhodes to abolish the 15 Rhodes Scholarships of £250 a year each to be held at Oxford University by German students nominated by the Kaiser. It was admitted that Cecil Rhodes established these scholarships with the object of helping to unite the Teutonic race in one educational system, to secure the greater friendliness of mankind and to promote an understanding amongst the great Powers which would render war impossible. To abolish these scholarships would be clearly a breach of faith, but no Member of Parliament had the courage to oppose the Bill.

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... ... 1d.
Minimum Subscription... 1d. a month

LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27th.
Outside R. White's Factory, Barking, 1 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Outside Public Library, Barking, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
"Whitehouse," 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
SATURDAY OCTOBER 28th.
Grundy Street, 3 p.m., Rev. Wm. Piggott.
Outside Public Library, Barking, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.
Lewisham Market Place, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Cressall.
Hampstead, "Jack Straw's Castle," 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker, Miss Somers.
Baths Hall, Barking, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.
MONDAY, OCTOBER 30th.
"Whitehouse," 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31st.
Ford Road, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Highbury Corner, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room.
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1st.
43 St. Leonard's Street, 2 p.m., Rev. Wm. Piggott.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.15 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd.
Chandos Hall, 3.30 p.m., At Home.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd.
Green Gate, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4th.
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hague Street, 3 p.m., Rev. Wm. Piggott, Miss Price.
Outside Jones' Bros., 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5th.
Dock Gates, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker, Mr. Arnall.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Miss Somers and others.
Stratford, The Grove, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Poplar Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Public Meeting.

W.S.F. BRANCHES

Bow, 400 Old Ford Road. Secretary, Miss Price.—DREADNOUGHT sales week ending October 21st 88o. Miss Harriet, 208; Miss O'Brien, 141; Mrs. Holloway, 136; Miss Vine, 68; Mrs. Greer, 36; Miss Lynch, 36; Mrs. Walker, 34; Miss Smyth, 29; Miss Bellyse, 24; General Sales, 168. BROMLEY sales, 52.

PORTSMOUTH. Secretary, Miss L. Whitehead, 6, Northumberland Road.—A meeting was held on October 22nd, under the auspices of the Trades Council, to form a committee to act in conjunction with the National Council for Civil Liberties. The W.S.F. was represented and Miss L. Whitehead was elected on the committee.

A Jumble sale will shortly be held in aid of the Branch Fund and all contributions will be thankfully received at the above address.

LEICESTER. Hon. Sec. Miss M. F. Hill, 12, Sweetbriar Road, Leicester.—This branch is organising an Adult Suffrage Conference for Saturday, Nov. 18th. We had a votes for all men and women banner at the Trades Council Procession on October 22nd, and a large number of people marched behind it.

BIRMINGHAM. Hon. Sec., Miss Boden, 10 Sandhurst Road, Moseley.—A social evening has been arranged for Wednesday, November 1st, in Stirchley Institute, to begin at 6.30 p.m.

Will members and friends please bring or send some article worth 6d. for our "Pig in a Poke" Sale?

We hope to have refreshments, recitations, competitions, etc. Goods for the December Sale will be gratefully accepted and forwarded to headquarters. We hope all the members will come and help to make the evening a success.

Thanks to Mrs. Avery for 6d. for Dreadnought Fund.

MONTESSORI METHOD AT THE MOTHERS' ARMS.

We have long wished to start Montessori training for the children at our day nursery at the Mothers' Arms, 438 Old Ford Road, Bow. Our little children living in crowded city streets greatly need the opportunities for cultivating initiative and a fine sense of colour, form, and sound which this training affords. The opportunity to realise our wish has now come to us through the kindness of Miss Muriel Matters, Miss Hildegarde Gunn and Miss Pleasance Napier, students from Dr. Montessori's School in Barcelona, who have most generously volunteered to undertake this work.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

A series of educative lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., has been organised by Mrs. Hercbergova to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45. The lectures are:—

Oct. 27th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "The History of British Socialism."
Nov. 3rd. Mr. J. Fineberg (B.S.P.), "Theory of Karl Marx."
" 10th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
" 17th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
" 24th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "International Socialism."
Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."
" 15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstoi's Philosophy of Religion."

Mr. John Scurr's lectures "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E.

Nov. 1st. "The Building of the Constitution."
" 8th. "The Beginning of Empire."
" 15th. "The Industrial Revolution."
" 22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."
" 29th. "The Uplift of Labour."

Every Thursday in October and November, At Homes are held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, close to Eustace Miles' Restaurant). We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.

November 2nd, Miss Evelyn Sharp (U.S.), "The Preponderance of Women and its Relation to their Social and Political Status." Mr. J. A. Hobson (U.D.C.), "Trade War." Chair, Miss Pankhurst.

November 9th, Miss Alison Neilans, "Is Prostitution Necessary?" Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook. Chair, Mrs. Walker.

Poplar Women's Hall, November 5th, 7 p.m., Mrs. H. C. Campbell, "Women and Co-operation." Mr. W. F. Watson (A.S.E.), "Should Women be Driven Out of the Engineering Industry." Chair, Mrs. Shlette. Admission free. All welcome.

CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION

Caxton Hall Exhibition, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p..m. daily.

Friends are asked to help in stocking and taking the stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

W.S.F. WANTS

1. Friends to make banners for the Federation.
2. Friends to act as members' group correspondents.
3. Friends to join our press bureau.
4. More DREADNOUGHT buyers and sellers.
5. More members for the W.S.F. canvassers for members' groups of members from branches.
6. Volunteers for office work.
7. Volunteers to help in the nursery.
8. Gifts of garments, sweets, books, curios, flowers, fruit, vegetables, etc., for the exhibition.
9. More funds.

NOTES FROM THE MIDLANDS

BY OMNIFRAGE.

On the evening of October 19th, Miss Binnie Clark gave a lecture in Sheffield University on the subject of "Women on the Land." Miss Binnie Clark is the Government Organiser for the employment of women on the land for Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. She is also a very "patriotic" lady, and her lecture was surcharged with "patriotism." But I want to point out to Miss Binnie Clark and to the women whom it may concern, certain incongruities which lie between her sermon and its observance.

I have nothing to say in dispute of Miss Clark's declaration that women can do every description of farmer's work, be it ever so heavy and arduous. There are a few of us for whom it did not take a world war to prove that women were as utilitarian as men. Miss Clark discovered it in her own particular sphere of work years ago. But she is of the opinion that the country's need should be the first consideration of the women whose thoughts incline towards the land as a means of livelihood. I do not think so, and apparently the farmers *qua* farmers, do not think so. They, like the directors of munition firms and the contractors, have apparently concluded that the country's hour of need is their opportunity to make quite a lot more money. That is why milk is sixpence a quart and more babies are dying. Miss Clark thumped the patriotic drum very hard, but at the same time she was eagerly reassuring that farming for women was a paying proposition. That is where I begin to suspect Miss Clark, for she knows as well as anybody that if a thing pays there are plenty of people, women included, who will find out the whole heap of patriotism that accompanies the job!

And now I want to give you a few of Miss Clark's figures touching this patriotic and paying job. Firstly then, according to the lecturer, as a beginner a girl cannot earn less than 3d. to 3½d. an hour picking potatotes. The declaration left the audience cold! You know we make munitions in Sheffield! Personally, I can imagine no task more back-breaking, more tiring, and more unsuited to a girl than spending hour after hour in a dank, damp field picking potatoes at 3d. an hour. Miss Clark did not say what a beginner's earnings would total weekly, but as she told us that a skilled worker could earn the "good money" of 30s. per week, working six days a week for nine hours a day, I conclude, the beginner, who, I suppose will suffer more backache than a tried hand, will earn eighteen shillings. That is if she puts in a full week, and the lecturer herself admitted that this at times, for various reasons was impossible.

Is there any warning needed as to the advisability of potato picking?

Of general farm work, I am happy to record that Miss Clark gave a better impression. Wages apparently begin at 20s., but Miss Clark left the question of improvement with the remark that as one became more efficient one could get more money at another place. I gather, therefore, that the ambitious woman farmer is faced with that pernicious system which demands constant peregrinations in order to achieve better conditions in life. The hours of the farm woman, on Miss Clark's own showing, are long. One starts work at seven in the morning and the work for the day is finished when there is nothing more to do. Honesty is inborn in Miss Clark, and the lady was candidness itself. Farming for the employee is admitted to be a poor game. For a woman it would appear at its poorest, and for that reason I cannot understand that Miss Clark should be surprised that her efforts to recruit women for the land have not satisfied her expectations.

Perhaps I can enlighten Miss Clark. In the first place, eighteen shillings a week is no wage for any man or woman to-day. Miss Clark will get few beginners at the price and thirty shillings a week, including nine hours' backache daily, is not enough. Moreover, the word "patriotism" in regard to industrialism has been smudged by the balance sheets of the munition firms, the filchings of the contractors, and the spirit of conscription.

I repeat my confession of faith in Miss Clark's honesty of purpose, but what a new complexion the question of "Women on the Land," assumed when Miss Binnie Clark told us that she was the owner of a several hundred acre farm in Canada! It really has never been done before—a master, an employer telling potential workers that they ought to work for patriotism regardless of profit. I confess I fail to follow the workings of Miss Binnie Clark's mind. That she is a capable farmer I am convinced. The

(Continued on Col. 3.)

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—R. McC. Smyth, Esq., £5; George Crews, Esq., £2 2s.; Mrs. A. M. Burke, £1; Mrs. Hyde, 10s.; Miss L. Cutten (monthly), 5s.; Miss Virginia Arnold, $1; Miss M. D. Kemp (monthly), 4s.; Miss Reuthe, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Genge, 2s. 6d.; Mr. P. Haslam, 11½d.

COLLECTIONS.—Per Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Cardiff W.S.F. meeting, £1 10s.; Bow Women's Hall, 7s. 8½d.; Chandos Hall, 7s.; Osborn Street, 2s. 8d.; Poplar Women's Hall, 1s. 4d.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Miss Nellie Rice, 13s. 6d.; Mrs. Crosland Taylor, 10s.; Mrs. Boswell, 6s. 3d.; Mrs. W. Smith, 5s.; Mrs. Ada Wells, 5s.; Mrs. D. Halliday, 3s.; Miss Balchin, 2s.; Mrs. C. T. Henderson, 2s.; Mr. and Mrs. J. Green, 1s. 6d.; Miss Agatha Harrison, 1s. 6d.; Alexander Hunter, Esq., 1s.; W. A. Jameson, Esq., 1s.; Denys B. Milwood, Esq., 3d. COLLECTIONS. Miss L. Whitehead, 6s.; Miss F. Prewett, 4s.; Mr. G. Horowitz, 2s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Per Miss Udoey (monthly), £1 4s. 9d.; Mr. David Williams, £2; G. and M., £1; Mrs. Dalby, £1; Nurse Hebbes, 12s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Miss H. E. Raisin (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. E. M. Harrison (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly), 5s.; West Adams (monthly), 3s.; Mr. Stiebel (2s. weekly), 3s.; Miss Mitchell, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. C. T. Henderson, 2s. COLLECTIONS. Mrs. Judson, £1 15s. 8d.; L. S. A. Stocking Dept., 16s. 6d.; Misses Lagsding and Lynch (Green's Yard), 12s.; Misses K. Lagsding and D. Morley (Cubitt Town), 7s. 6d.; Miss Thomas, 5s.; Miss M. Marsh, 4s. 6½d.; Mr. Dalton, 2s. 11½d.; Mr. C. J. Mann, 2s. 6d.; Miss Esiné Lansbury, 2s. 4½d. (farthing collection); Mrs. Whelen (dentist's chair), 10s. 6d.

EXHIBITION FUND.—Mrs. J. R. Jacobs, £1 1s.; Miss Ruth Franklin, 5s.; Miss Mole, 5s.

CLOTHES, ETC.—Miss C. E. Wetherall; Mrs. B.; Miss Whittaker; Mrs. Schurr.

EGGS.—Lady Margaret Sackville.

GROCERIES.—Hampstead National Food Fund.

* * * *

BIRTH.—To Harold and Freda Laski, a daughter, Diana.

NOTES FROM THE MIDLANDS

(Continued from Col. 2.)

lantern slides picturing her and her work on her farm inspired me with an admiration that was increased by the recital of her struggles against adversity when she became a farmer ten years ago. But even then she could negotiate for the purchase of a £1,000 farm. Obviously Miss Clark never took up farming for patriotism. But she told us that she made profits from the first year. She can know nothing of the class whose bread depends upon the willingness and strength of their fingers. Again, to be quite fair, I would say that she declared her admiration for the women of the "lower classes." They were splendid workers, reasonable and hard working. At 3d. an hour I am more inclined to think them heroic to madness. And then I believe Miss Clark was mistaken in the identity of her audience. She believed she was addressing a university audience. At least, she was wrong in one instance. She urged that it was to the 'varsity girl that the Government looked for the forewomen on the land. I am quite convinced the Government looks for nothing of the kind. It knows it would not get it if it did, and that the parent who sends his girl to a university does so with a view other than to her becoming a forewoman at thirty shillings a week to a gang of women of the "lower class."

But my brief is not on behalf of the 'varsity girl. She is a fine type, we want more of her, but she can take care of herself. It is different with the women who have not had the education and the advantage of an environment that leads to clear thinking and a just appreciation of the worth of a thesis. Many women of the "lower classes" have been and will continue to be, induced to go upon the land under the conditions offered by Miss Binnie Clark, and which are, to my mind, scandalous. I do not say the land is taboo for women. In many cases the open air and healthy life would make a far wiser choice than the vitiated air of a great city, for a woman in search of employment. But such a seeker should see to it for herself that she is well paid for her task, and should not allow that issue to be confused by any specious and capitalistic cry of "patriotism." I agree with Miss Clark that more women in the future should be, and will be, possessors of land and farmsteads. Meanwhile, perhaps, Miss Binnie Clark will tell us how long it will take a woman, working nine hours a day at 3d. per hour, before she can save enough to buy a farm for herself!

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WOMAN WRITER, Husband "C.O.," New Thoughter, Occult Student, wishes correspond woman similar tastes. Object friendship. Might offer congenial home, travel, after war. Would teach inquirer willing help working out ideas for fellowship on broad inclusive lines. Write "Libra," Offices of "Dreadnought."

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FRENCH LADY, widow, speaks and writes English, seeks WORK, not clerical.—Apply, Box 10, this Office.

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